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HOUSING CONDITIONS IN CHICAGO, III: BACK OF THE YARDS¹

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The Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy

In 1901, when a committee of the City Homes Association made an inquiry into housing conditions in Chicago, the Stockyards district was not one of those selected for intensive investigation.² The appearance of the district showed it to be so neglected and conditions there were, in general, supposed to be so extraordinary that it was regarded as unsuitable for purposes of intensive investigation. On this account little attention was given to conditions prevailing within the houses, and only a superficial examination of these conditions was made. The unpaved streets, lack of sidewalks, indescribable accumulations of filth and rubbish, together with the absence

¹ Two other articles in this series appeared in the September and November numbers of this Journal. This study is based on a house-to-house canvass and reports on the district made by Jessie F. Bell, W. L. Chenery, Katherine S. Gedney, Ethel E. Hanks, H. K. Herwitz, M. B. Hunt, Estelle B. Hunter, Caro B. Macarthur, and Paul Wander, research students, 1909-10, and a special report on the "City Dumps" by W. L. Chenery. The greater part of the most tedious work of tabulation was done by Miss R. G. Stewart.

² The results of this investigation were published in 1901 in the well-known report, *Tenement Conditions in Chicago* (8vo. pp. 207; published by the City Homes Association).

of sewerage were said to make the so-called "outside insanitary conditions as bad as any in the world."³

Since the writing of that report many changes for the better have taken place in this neighborhood. Many of the streets have been paved, a large number of sidewalks have been laid, the sewer system has been extended, and Bubbly Creek has been enlarged and purified. The district remains, however, an extraordinary one. No other neighborhood in this, or perhaps in any other city, is dominated by a single industry of so offensive a character. Large numbers of live animals assembled from all sections of the country, processes of slaughtering and packing, the disposition of offensive animal waste, constitute an almost unparalleled nuisance. South Chicago lies under the smoke-shadows of the steel mills, and in those mills are dangers to life and limb, blinding glare from the furnaces, magnificent exposure and terrible peril; but the influence upon

³ *Ibid.*, 3 and 182. The comments on the district are as follows: "If the purpose had been merely to select the worst houses and blocks that the city can show, portions of the North and South Sides would have been chosen. The Stockyards district and portions of South Chicago show outside insanitary conditions as bad as any in the world. Indescribable accumulations of filth and rubbish, together with the absence of sewerage, makes the surroundings of every dilapidated frame cottage abominably insanitary. These evils do not extend over a large area. They are in their worst forms extraordinary and not typical of conditions elsewhere in Chicago. In the Stockyards district there is no large area, such as the one in South Chicago, where the conditions seem to be uniformly bad. On Avenue ——— there are some old rookeries and some new little brick boxes raised on stilts, which will probably be sold on some instalment plan to the working people in that vicinity. Many working people have bought, or have tried to buy, these houses, but before they paid up the instalments the houses were in very bad repair and wretchedly dilapidated. Very often workmen have tried to buy them on the instalment plan and have lost them again and again. There is a long row of houses on ——— Avenue where the conditions are about the same as stated above. Very few of the houses in this locality are deficient in provision for light and ventilation, and none of them seem to be overcrowded. The worst features are the external conditions which surround the dwellings. In many parts of the district there are no sewers and the sewage from the houses stands in stagnant pools. The south branch of the Chicago River is really a ditch which accumulates a great deal of sewage from the Stockyards, and fills the air with poisonous odors. The stench from the Stockyards is also present. The district is overshadowed by heavy clouds of smoke from 'the Yards.'"



Photograph by R. R. Earle

MARSHFIELD AVENUE

Looking south from Davis Square, March, 1910

the neighborhood is rather terrifying than degrading. In the Stockyards, on the other hand, are the mingled cries of the animals awaiting slaughter, the presence of uncared-for-waste, the sight of blood, the carcasses naked of flesh and skin, the suggestion of death and disintegration—all of which must react in a demoralizing way, not only upon the character of the people, but the conditions under which they live.

The packing industry has been identified with this territory since 1864 when 320 acres of land “in the Town of Lake” were bought from the Honorable John Wentworth for \$100,000 as a site for the Union Stockyards which were then planned. These yards were opened in December of the following year⁴ and the growth of the industry since that time has been so rapid that it is possible to understand, if not to excuse, the failure to adjust the sanitary and physical conditions to the enlarged undertaking. The result was, as all the world knows, that in 1906, when an attempt was made to apply modern sanitary standards to the yards, provisions for maintaining cleanliness and decency were found to be so shockingly inadequate that employment there was believed to have a demoralizing influence on the men and women employed there. What this influence was can be better understood by recalling the famous Neill-Reynolds Report⁵ which called attention to the insanitary conditions then prevailing in the Stockyards, the use of paving materials which could not be properly cleansed and “were slimy and malodorous when wet, yielding clouds of ill-smelling dust when dry”; the neglected condition of the pens in

⁴ The packing industry in Chicago is of course much older than the Union Stockyards. It is, in fact, almost as old as Chicago itself. Pork packing was carried on in 1827 south of the north branch of the river on Clybourn Avenue. In 1832 slaughtering and packing were industries located on what was then an open prairie near Michigan and Madison streets. Later, various other packing centers were established at Lake and LaSalle streets, at Rush and Kinzie, on South Water between Clark and LaSalle, at State and North Water, at Franklin and South Water. In 1848 the “Bull’s Head” Yards on Madison and Ashland became the center of trade in live stock, but later some other large yards were opened. In 1856 the Sherman Yards were established on Cottage Grove Avenue, and in 1858 the Michigan Southern and Fort Wayne Yards were opened on State and Twenty-second streets.

⁵ Submitted June 4, 1906. House Document, 59th Congress, No. 873.

which the animals were confined, and of the viaducts over which the animals passed; the unclean, dark, ill-ventilated rooms in which the slaughtering was done, "vaults in which the air was rarely changed; windows clouded by dirt, walls and ceilings so dark and dingy that natural light penetrated only 20 or 30 feet"; the lack of sanitary arrangements, with the consequent odors and fumes, and the failure to provide ordinary decencies in the way of toilet accommodations for the workers.

Obviously this is not one of the older residence districts of Chicago. When this region was selected for the location of the Union Stockyards it was a suitable place for an offensive business of this kind. The whole territory was then a reedy, undrained marsh, remote from the inhabited part of the city, and not regarded as a quarter which would ever be suitable for residence or business purposes. To this remote place the business of slaughtering was suitably relegated. For much the same reasons the brickyards and the city dumps were located here; and this rural tract became appropriated to these necessary but offensive uses.

This territory back of the "Yards" is, then, so unfortunate in its blighted surroundings that great interest was felt as to what actual living conditions might be in a dismal region with the city dumps, brickyards, and "Bubbly Creek" on one side, and the greatest slaughter-houses in the world on the other. Its very peculiarities, as compared with other neighborhoods, seemed to justify a study of its housing conditions. There were, however, other reasons for selecting this district for intensive investigation. The records of the United Charities show that a large proportion of the applicants for relief come from this territory, and the very poor are usually found living in the most insanitary houses. There is a general belief that there is more tuberculosis here than in any other part of the city, and a map published by the commissioner of health shows that large numbers of babies die here every year, and tuberculosis, high infant mortality, poverty, and bad housing and sanitary conditions will generally be found together. The Lithuanian and Polish families in this neighborhood were known, too, to take large numbers of lodgers,

and this almost invariably means a violation of the law against overcrowding. It should also be pointed out that the differences between this district and several others to which reference might be made, are differences in degree rather than in kind. No other industry is just like the packing industry, but there are many industrial establishments which dominate the neighborhoods in which they are located in much the same way as the packing industry dominates this. Houses of the same general type prevail in other districts, and the people are like those near the Stockyards, immigrant men and women drawn here to render the unskilled service upon which so much of Chicago's industry depends.

The homes of this district have always been workmen's homes. Small frame cottages have gradually been displaced or outnumbered by tenements built for two or more families; but it has continued to be almost solidly occupied by those who depend upon the yards for work and upon whose work the industry, in turn, remains dependent.

In this district, as might be expected, were found representatives of the various nationalities upon which the packing industry had from time to time depended. In the earlier days, the workers in the yards and the dwellers in the neighborhood were almost exclusively Irish; but as they gradually found their way into higher-grade work, they were succeeded first by the Germans and later by the Slavs, who, in the last decade, have been immigrating in increasingly large numbers.

Two groups of blocks were selected for a house-to-house canvass, one Polish and one Lithuanian, and an attempt was made to select those which contained, not the poorest, but the typical homes of this neighborhood. To these were added the thin, straggling line of houses along Ashland Avenue known as "Whiskey Row," because it was believed that many lodgers would be found here, and because this was also believed to be typical of streets in other similar districts. The accompanying map shows the whole neighborhood in its relation to the blocks investigated.

The following table, which indicates how largely Slavic the

population back of the yards has become, is given by blocks because it shows how the Poles and Lithuanians tend to segregate. The blocks which contain the largest number of Poles contain relatively few Lithuanians, while the blocks which are predominately Lithuanian have very few Poles.

NATIONALITY OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	Polish	Lithuanian	Bohemian	German	Slovak	Irish	Other	Total
Block 1.....	49	12	..	1	5	6	10	83
Block 2.....	60	74	..	4	3	4	..	145
Block 3.....	52	124	..	..	2	..	1	179
Block 4.....	26	12	4	7	3	9	18	79
Block 5.....	17	37	1	10	1	9	15	90
Block 6.....	32	63	14	3	2	..	2	116
Block 7.....	67	..	12	26	15	4	6	130
Block 8.....	119	..	8	8	7	1	1	144
Block 9.....	131	..	13	6	17	..	2	169
Block 10.....	72	..	38	10	10	..	4	134
Whiskey Row								
West Side.....	171	11	2	9	10	12	15	230
East Side.....	38	..	1	8	6	7	3	63
Total.....	834	333	93	92	81	52	77	1,562

No column is given to Americans in the table, for out of 1,562 families visited only 19 American families were found. It is of interest, too, that so few Irish are left and that a disproportionate number of these are in Whiskey Row. These surviving Irish residents were usually either among the most prosperous or the most shiftless families in the neighborhood. The former are often firemen or policemen who have remained in the same neighborhood but have prospered equally with those who have moved away. The Irish who have gone down and are still in the district because they have never been prosperous enough to get away, are usually living in very dilapidated and untidy houses. It should be added that a few other Irish families are left, too, because they unwisely bought their homes and have never been able to dispose of them satisfactorily.

The fact of chief interest in the table, however, is that 1,167 out of 1,562 heads of households are Polish or Lithuanian. When the large numbers of Polish and Lithuanian lodgers are added to these family groups, it is clear that this is now a district



Photograph by R. R. Earle

AN EXCEPTIONALLY CLEAN ONE-ROOM APARTMENT

In a rear house, occupied by a man, his wife, and two children. (The woman at the left was a visitor.)

almost exclusively made up of Slavic immigrants, many of them newly arrived and unable to speak any English. The problem of the adjustment of the newly arrived immigrant is very closely connected with the housing problem. It almost uniformly happens that the families which are most foreign are most exploited in the matter of their housing situation. They pay the highest rents for the poorest apartments, and they seem quite unable to understand that they have a right to insist on needed repairs or a decent standard of cleanliness. If a roof leaks, or the plumbing is out of order, they have no idea how to set about getting the landlord to attend to it. The student investigators who made the house-to-house canvass reported that their authority was rarely questioned among the less Americanized groups; the people were uniformly submissive, and apparently it never occurred to them that they had a right to ask why strangers could come in and measure their doors and windows.

It is a well-known fact that the unskilled work in the yards is largely done by the members of these foreign groups. Additional evidence, however, is found in the following table which shows that of the 876 heads of families (men) whose occupations were learned, only 152 did work requiring any considerable degree of skill.

TABLE SHOWING OCCUPATION OF MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Work in Stockyards (Unskilled Labor)	Work in Stockyards (Skilled Labor)	Other Unskilled Labor	Other Skilled Trades	Store-keepers	Saloon-keepers	Miscellaneous	No Occupation or Report	Total
724	152	206	116	93	69	81	58	1,499

Most of the lodgers, both men and women, also worked in the yards, but it was not possible to find out how many married women were employed in this or in any other kind of work. When the woman was away from the home, the children and neighbors frequently did not know whether she was at work or not, and the returns, therefore, as to the employment of the women, were too incomplete to be valuable. Sometimes married women, even those with children, worked in the yards, but these seemed

to be rather exceptional cases. In one Lithuanian family with six boarders and five children, the oldest not more than five and the youngest still a baby, both husband and wife worked in the yards, but they were buying their house and wished to take advantage of every possible source of income.

The degree of congestion in the district is indicated by the following table which gives the number of persons living in each of the blocks studied and in Whiskey Row. The first six blocks are those in the Lithuanian section, and blocks 7 to 10 are chiefly Polish.

TABLE SHOWING BLOCK POPULATION

	BLOCK 1	BLOCK 2	BLOCK 3	BLOCK 4	BLOCK 5	BLOCK 6	BLOCK 7	BLOCK 8	BLOCK 9	BLOCK 10	WHISKEY ROW		TOTAL
											West Side	East Side	
Members of family groups.....	354	554	696	313	375	479	542	651	726	567	858	233	6,348
Lodgers.....	105	294	414	59	140	216	74	101	138	74	574	194	2,383
Total....	459	848	1,110	372	515	695	616	752	864	641	1,432	427	8,731

The first ten blocks are uniform in size and each contains 3.3 acres. The most densely populated block therefore contains 306 people to the acre, and the average density is 208. The average number of persons per acre found in the two sections of the Jewish district which was investigated in 1901 was 245 and 248 respectively; the number in the densely populated Polish quarter investigated at the time was 340. In comparison with these figures, it appears that, although the degree of density in the Stockyards district is high, the number of people per acre is smaller than in some other sections of the city. It will appear, however, that the real problem of overcrowding here is crowding within the house and within the rooms.

It is to be noted in the first place that the buildings are often small and cover a relatively small portion of the lot. Thus the following table shows that nearly half of the premises were not covered more than 50 per cent, and that a considerable number were entirely vacant.

TABLE SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF LOT COVERED

Number of lots covered 50 per cent or less.....	248*
Number of lots covered more than 50 per cent and less than 60 per cent	65
Number of lots covered more than 60 per cent and less than 70 per cent	92
Number of lots covered more than 70 per cent and less than 80 per cent	75
Number of lots covered more than 80 per cent and less than 90 per cent	56
Number of lots covered 90 per cent or over.....	25
No report	21
<hr/>	
Total	582

* Of these 43 were vacant premises.

It is interesting to compare these figures for a section of the Twenty-ninth Ward with those which were published by the City Homes Association for other parts of the city. In 1901 it was found that in the districts investigated on the West Side, 39 per cent of all the lots were covered more than 65 per cent, and that 17 per cent of the lots were covered more than 80 per cent.⁶ In comparison with these percentages, the figures given above show that in the territory back of the yards there is a relatively large amount of open space.

It is of further interest that the houses here not only occupy a small percentage of the lot, but they are almost uniformly frame buildings not more than two stories high.⁷ In this district, therefore, a relatively high density per acre is found together with a relatively small percentage of the lot covered by small low houses. The condition is especially interesting because typical of so many districts in Chicago. The small houses and vacant lots, so unlike the crowded areas of the tenement districts in New York, give the impression that there is no serious problem of congestion here. This impression, however, is a mis-

⁶ *City Homes Report*, 32.

⁷ The exact figures are as follows:

Number of one-story buildings....	144	Number of brick buildings.....	46
Number of two-story buildings...	387	Number of frame buildings.....	574
Number of three-story buildings..	85	<hr/>	
Number with more than three		Counted twice.....	1
stories	1	<hr/>	
No report.....	2	Total number of buildings....	619

Total number of buildings..... 619

leading one since the facts which have been given show a high degree of crowding within the houses. Tables which will be given later, dealing with the number of occupants per room, show that in this district sleeping-rooms especially are crowded far beyond the legal limit and this overcrowding within the house is often a source of much greater danger and demoralization than the more obvious overcrowding in other cities.

Although this is a relatively new section of the city, the great majority of the houses, 488 out of 623⁸ were built under the old tenement law, that is, prior to 1903. Some blocks, of course, contain a much large proportion of old houses than others. In those more recently built up, less than half are old-law houses. Although the houses are frame and so many of them built more than ten years ago, they were in general in good repair⁹ except in Whiskey Row. There the buildings were found to be in general old and dilapidated, the plumbing out of order, the houses dirty, and the people who lived there often low and disreputable.

The alley tenement is a conspicuous feature of Chicago's housing problem but it is not so prevalent back of the yards as in some other districts. In the fifteen blocks investigated, however, 73 alley tenements were found. In two especially crowded blocks, 13 out of 50, and 13 out of 61 houses respectively were alley houses. On a few premises there were three houses on a single lot, that is, not only front and rear but middle dwell-

* Number of old-law houses.....	488
Number of new-law houses.....	103
No report.....	32
<hr/>	
Total	623
Counted twice.....	4
<hr/>	
Total number of houses.....	619

⁹ Number of houses in which the condition as to repair was:

Good.....	335
Fair.....	184
Bad.....	71
No report.....	29
<hr/>	
Total.....	619



Photograph by R. R. Earle

A TYPICAL ALLEY IN THE STOCKYARDS DISTRICT

ings as well.¹⁰ The alley houses, therefore, are almost uniformly old houses, and for sanitary provisions they are frequently entirely dependent upon a yard water-closet or privy. These alley houses are, however, usually light and sunny, because in this neighborhood, with a large proportion of the lots having a vacant space in the rear, a rear house is likely to have more chance for light and air than the front house with only a narrow passage on either side.

Further discussion of the conditions prevailing here should be prefaced by reference to the distinction between tenements and other dwellings. According to the definition in the Code, any house is a tenement and subject to tenement regulation when it is used as a dwelling by two or more families living in separate apartments.¹¹

The following table which shows the number of houses occupied by a specified number of families confirms the earlier statement that this is not a district of large tenement houses:

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF HOUSES OCCUPIED BY SPECIFIED NUMBER OF FAMILIES

Number of buildings containing 1 apartment.....	155
Number of buildings containing 2 apartments.....	172
Number of buildings containing 3 apartments.....	96
Number of buildings containing 4 apartments.....	127
Number of buildings containing 5 apartments.....	42
Number of buildings containing 6 apartments.....	11
Number of buildings containing 7 apartments.....	3
Number of buildings containing 9 apartments.....	1
Number of buildings containing 15 apartments.....	1
Total	608

¹⁰ The following table, however, shows that very few middle houses were found:

Number of premises having 1 house on the lot.....	539
Number of premises having 2 houses on the lot.....	73
Number of premises having 3 houses on the lot.....	7
Total number of premises	619

¹¹ Code 59-246, Class VI: "In Class VI shall be included every tenement and apartment house; that is to say, any house or building or portion thereof which is used as a home or residence for two or more families living in separate apartments."

This table shows that in 155 cases the houses which were investigated were not tenement houses and were therefore regulated, not by the provisions of the tenement code relating to "Class VI" houses, but by the minor restrictions relating to so-called Class III houses, that is, houses used as dwellings for single families.¹² It should, however, be pointed out that bad sanitary conditions are just as evil for the family living alone in the small house as for the family which happens to be occupying a house in which another family also lives.¹³ For this reason it has seemed best to include all of the houses visited, single as well as tenement, in the tables given in the following pages. If in some cases the law was not violated because the houses were occupied by a single family, the condition was none the less insanitary because it was legal. The community is quite as likely to suffer when six people sleep in a room not having enough cubic air space for one person, even if there is only a single family, instead of two or three, living in the house.

It is important to know not only the number of apartments per house but the number of rooms per apartment, and the following table therefore is given showing the number of apartments having from one to eight rooms:

Number of apartments having 1 room.....	17
Number of apartments having 2 rooms.....	123
Number of apartments having 3 rooms.....	182
Number of apartments having 4 rooms.....	905
Number of apartments having 5 rooms.....	230
Number of apartments having 6 rooms.....	86
Number of apartments having 7 rooms.....	37
Number of apartments having 8 rooms or more.....	36
<hr/>	
Total	1,616

It is encouraging to note that although some very small dwellings are to be found, 17 consisting of only one room, more than 80 per cent of all the apartments consist of four or more rooms. The location of the apartment is a question of great im-

¹² Municipal Code, secs. 243, 246.

¹³ Considerations of decency render provisions relating to toilet accommodations more necessary in houses occupied by several families.

portance. The basement apartment is not illegal but it is often dark and damp, and the fact that 137 families were found in basement apartments is a significant fact. Although cellar apartments, that is, those which are more than half below the street level¹⁴ have been declared illegal, seven were found, two in Whiskey Row and five in the group of blocks which were predominantly Lithuanian. These cellar apartments are invariably cheerless and insanitary. In one house on Paulina Street, two Lithuanian girls were found in two very dismal cellar rooms in which they cooked and slept. The ceilings of their little apartment were only five feet nine inches high; one of the rooms was windowless and the other had two small windows opening on a passage so that one room was totally dark and the other gloomy, and the cellar space back of the apartment was dark and damp.

It was surprising to find in a comparatively new building on Ashland Avenue another gloomy two-room cellar apartment with ceilings which were only six feet. A Polish "yards" laborer and his wife slept in the bedroom and a woman lodger and one child slept in the kitchen. Both of these rooms had windows which were so much below the street that you could read only a short distance away from them. The rooms were unnecessarily darkened by the fact that the walls were painted a dark green and the apartment was rendered more objectionable

¹⁴ Tolman, *Municipal Code*, Secs. 398, 417, 430; *Cellar Changed for Living Purposes.—Requirements.—Height.*—In no now existing or new tenement house shall any room in the cellar be constructed, altered, converted or occupied for living purposes; and no room in the basement of a tenement house shall be constructed, altered, converted or occupied for living purposes, unless all of the following conditions of this chapter be complied with, and at least one-third of the height of the basement shall be above grade for building; provided, in each case it shall be at least four feet above the street grade.

"Such rooms shall be at least eight feet six inches high in all now existing or new tenement houses in every part from floor to ceiling, except as provided for janitor's use only in section 417 of this chapter.

"'Basement' is a story partly, but not more than one-half, 'Cellar' is a story more than one-half, below the level of the street grade nearest the building; where the grade of a street adjacent to a tenement house varies, the mean or average grade of such street opposite the lot containing the tenement house shall be regarded as the grade of such street within the meaning of this chapter."

by the fact that it could only be reached through a dark, damp cellar-space used for coal. The fact that there are so few cellar apartments shows an improvement over conditions in 1901 when the City Homes investigation was made. At that time twenty cellar apartments were found in the forty blocks which constituted the first district, forty-nine cellar apartments in the second district of ten blocks, and thirty-two cellar apartments in the third district of eight blocks.

The primitive sanitary arrangements which still exist in this neighborhood are a result in part of the newness of the district, in part of the low standard of living that prevails among the people, and in greater part perhaps of their ignorance, poverty, and general helplessness. An ordinance passed in 1894¹⁵ made it illegal for privy vaults to be maintained on premises where sewers were possible, and this ordinance is still in force. In these few blocks, however, 44 privies with 21 separate vaults were found. The evil is greater than the number indicates, for 46 families and 248 persons used these miserable toilet accommodations which are so offensive and insanitary that they were outlawed fifteen years ago.¹⁶

The yard closet should be classed with the privy as a nuisance, and is forbidden for new tenements by the present law. On 233 premises, however, 447 yard water-closets were found and these were used by 3,419 people. In fourteen cases, the premises were regulated by the new law, and the yard water-closets were therefore as illegal as privy vaults. In many other cases where they existed, the accom-

¹⁵ See *City Homes Report*, 104, and the present health ordinance, Tolman, *Municipal Code*, sec. 1289: "It shall be unlawful for any person or corporation to maintain any privy vault or suffer the same to be and remain upon any premises shutting upon or adjoining any street, alley, court or public place, in which is located any public sewer. Any person or corporation violating the provisions of this section shall be fined not less than ten or more than two hundred dollars for each offense."

¹⁶ In fact on the premises, 26 families consisting of 149 persons were entirely dependent on facilities of this primitive type. It is encouraging, however, to note the progress which has been made since 1901. At that time 1,581 privies were found in the forty blocks east of Halsted Street and these were used by more than 10,000 people. See *City Homes Report*, 105.



Photograph by R. R. Earle

A "BACK-YARD"

Reached through a narrow passage and surrounded by five small houses

modations provided were so inadequate as to constitute a violation of the law. On three different premises, 20, 21, and 24 persons, respectively, were using yard a single water-closet. The inconvenience suffered by families using these insanitary yard accommodations can only be realized when the inadequacy of the inside toilet provisions is understood. Although the ordinary persons, respectively, were using a single yard water-closet. each apartment having more than two rooms, only one-fourth of the apartments visited had such private toilet facilities.¹⁷ The needs of the families in these 1,119 apartments which were without water-closets were met in part by the primitive yard closets and privies, but in the majority of cases by closets in the basement or hall which were used either by several or by all of the families in the building. In 127 buildings the tenants used water-closets in the basement or cellar and in 155 buildings the water-closets were in the halls.¹⁸ In one building there was only one water-closet for five families, in another one for six families and in another one for seven families. In a neighborhood like this, where

¹⁷ The following table shows the location of the closet in the 405 apartments that had private toilet arrangements; twenty of these were long-hopper closets:

Number opening from kitchen	286
Number opening from bedroom	10
Number opening from other rooms	104
No report	5

Total 405

¹⁸ 23 of the basement closets and 42 of the hall closets were in new-law buildings. The ordinance, however, is a complicated one and apartments of less than three rooms may legally be provided with common toilets.

The *Code*, sec. 434, is as follows: "In every new tenement house there shall be a separate water-closet in a separate compartment within each apartment, accessible to each apartment, without passing through any other apartment, provided that where there are apartments, consisting of only one or two rooms, there shall be at least one water-closet for every two apartments. Every water-closet compartment in every new tenement house shall have a window opening upon a street, alley, yard, court, or vent shaft, and every water-closet compartment in every existing tenement house shall be ventilated by such a window, or else by a proper ventilating pipe running through the roof. Every water-closet compartment in every tenement house shall be provided with proper means of artificially lighting the same. If fixtures for gas or electricity are not provided in any such compartment, then the door thereof shall have ground glass or wire glass panels or transoms.

the family usually includes a large number of lodgers as well, such inadequate facilities unquestionably constitute a demoralizing influence. In one case a single water-closet was the only accommodation provided for 47 persons.¹⁹ In several cases, the public closets in saloons were the only provisions made for families with young children.

These inadequate toilet arrangements are also objectionable because the great majority of them are of the old long-hopper type, and because the compartments are dark and frequently without any means of ventilation.²⁰ Moreover, while in general the private closet within the apartment was found to be clean and in good repair, those used by several families or by all the families in a building were in the majority of cases dirty and out of order.²¹ It would seem to be beyond any question that families with young children should be provided with adequate toilet facilities, which can be kept clean and in good repair. It is clear that the insanitary accommodations which are only too often dark, out-of-order, offensive, used by large groups of men lodgers, and often by other families not clean in their habits, are mostly a degrading and contaminating influence which could easily be prevented.

¹⁹ The following table shows the provision of toilet accommodations for specified numbers of families and persons:

NUMBER OF CASES IN WHICH THERE WAS ONE HALL OR BASEMENT WATER-CLOSET FOR:

Not more than One Family	Two Families	Three Families	Four Families	Five Families	Six Families	Seven Families
56	81	14	2	2	1	1

NUMBER OF CASES IN WHICH THERE WAS ONE HALL OR BASEMENT WATER-CLOSET FOR:

Five Per- sons or less	6 to 10 Persons	11 to 15 Persons	16 to 20 Persons	21 to 25 Persons	26 to 30 Persons	31 to 35 Persons	36 to 40 Persons
35	81	29	7	2	..	1	2

²⁰ Of the 282 hall and basement closets, 188 were long-hopper, only 142 were reported to have any means of ventilation, and only 91 were light.

²¹ The returns as to cleanliness and repairs for the hall and basement closets were as follows: 133 clean, 125 dirty, 24 very dirty; 127 in good repair, 94 repair fair, 61 repair bad. On the other hand, reports on the condition of the 403 private water-closets showed 318 in good repair, 58 "fair," 22 "bad," 5 no report.



Photograph by R. R. Earle

A NEW-LAW TENEMENT

Containing a saloon, a bakery, a butcher-shop, a milk depot, a stable, and nine families

Conditions within the apartment are supposedly governed by certain regulations bearing upon the questions of light and air, and cubic air space per person. The most important of these, though undoubtedly the most difficult of enforcement, is the provision which attempts to prevent overcrowding by requiring for each occupant a definite minimum of space. It is illegal for any room in a tenement house to be so occupied that each adult person "living or sleeping" in the room does not have at least 400 cubic feet of air, and each child under twelve, 200 cubic feet of air.²² This provision applies to old-law and new-law houses

²² Tolman's *Municipal Code*, sec. 420.

alike, but the following table shows how persistently this law is violated. All of the numbers above the black line, 1,981 in all, represent cases in which the number of persons sleeping in the room was greater than the law allowed:

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS SLEEPING IN ROOMS OF SPECIFIED CUBIC CONTENT

CONTENTS OF ROOM IN CUBIC FEET	NUMBER OF ROOMS OCCUPIED BY									TOTAL	
	One Child	One Adult*	One Adult and One Child	Two Adults	Two Adults and One Child	Three Adults	Three Adults and One Child	Four Adults	Four Adults and One Child		Five Adults or More
Less than 400	1	32	4	16	5	3	1	..	..	..	62
400 and less than 600...	9	334	69	363	113	65	14	14	5	1	987
600 and less than 800...	9	212	48	390	163	229	81	89	9	7	1,235
800 and less than 1,000...	1	70	17	142	51	98	29	57	2	2	469
1,000 and less than 1,200...	4	39	8	50	10	22	4	5	..	2	144
1,200 and less than 1,400...	7	60	11	50	22	20	7	12	..	3	192
1,400 and less than 1,600...	11	55	14	63	19	17	8	9	4	..	200
1,600 and less than 1,800...	6	49	10	47	17	17	1	3	..	2	152
1,800 and less than 2,000...	7	21	7	16	8	8	2	7	1	1	78
2,000 and more	2	16	5	16	4	4	1	..	1	2	51
Totals....	57	888	193	1,153	412	481	148	196	22	20	3,730

* In this table one adult means one adult or two children under twelve, that is, the term one adult is used whenever 400 cubic feet of air are required.

This table shows that in 1,981 cases the law against overcrowding was violated, and that in many instances the number of cubic feet in the room was shockingly below the number of cubic feet required by law. Thus it appears that in 19 cases when rooms of 350 to 400 cubic feet were being illegally occupied, in two cases, 600 cubic feet, in ten cases 800, and in one case 1,000, and in another 1,400 were required by law. In 77 cases when 1,200 cubic feet of air were required, rooms containing less than 800 cubic feet were occupied. In one case four people slept in a room containing only 333 cubic feet, a room that could not have been legally occupied by even a single person over twelve years of age. In another case five people slept in a room containing 472 cubic feet, a room that could legally be occupied only by a single person. In another case seven people, for whom 2,800 cubic feet would have been the legal minimum, slept in a room containing only 657 cubic feet.

One of the worst features of this overcrowding is the demoralizing lack of privacy. Grown brothers and sisters, for example, often occupy the same room. Sometimes the crowding is unnecessary; the family prefer, especially in the winter, to huddle into the rooms which are near the kitchen and in this way save the expense of extra fuel and an extra stove. In one apartment a bedroom which was light and sunny was left vacant, although the family were sleeping in a dark room which had only one window opening into a hall. The dark room was of course near the kitchen.

The secret of the overcrowding which prevails here is to be explained in part by the un-American standard of living. Polish and Slovak women, for example, told of conditions in their own homes where a large family often lived in one or two rooms.

Further testimony on the subject of overcrowding is to be found in the following table which shows that in a large number of cases every room in the house was used as a sleeping-room.

It appears from this table that in 106 families even the kitchen was used as a bedroom at night. In 508 cases all the

rooms except one were used as bedrooms at night. It is of interest that the different blocks varied in this respect; the four Polish blocks (7, 8, 9, 10) had more rooms that were not slept in and the Whiskey Row blocks contained the largest proportion of apartments in which even the kitchen was a sleeping-room.

With regard to the size of the room, the ordinance provides that in each apartment there shall be at least one room

BLOCKS	NUMBER OF FAMILIES USING AS SLEEPING ROOMS				TOTAL
	All Rooms	All but One	All but Two	All but Three or More	
1.....	4	34	27	19	84
2.....	5	53	67	23	148
3.....	2	55	113	14	184
4.....	7	26	18	33	84
5.....	2	36	28	27	93
6.....	1	46	57	13	117
7.....	9	29	69	30	137
8.....	4	26	92	24	147
9.....	2	39	113	16	170
10.....	7	30	84	15	136
Whiskey Row					
West.....	50	106	61	22	239
East.....	13	27	10	27	77
Total.....	106	508	739	263	1,616

containing not less than 120 square feet, and that every room shall contain at least 70 square feet.²³ Although this provision applies only to new tenements, that is, those erected since 1903, the sanitary requirements are quite independent of the legal requirements and rooms below the minimum size are just as objectionable in the old houses as in the new houses. In attempting, therefore, to ascertain how many rooms failed to conform to the standard set in the law, all apartments in old as well as in new houses were considered.

²³ This section of the code (417) is as follows: "In every new tenement house, all rooms, except water-closet compartments and bathrooms, shall be of the following minimum sizes: In each apartment there shall be at least one room containing not less than 120 square feet of floor area, and every other room shall contain at least 70 square feet of floor area. Each room shall be in every part not less than 8 ft., 6 in. high in but one-half of its area; provided, that in a basement apartment used for janitor's use only, such room or rooms shall be not less than 2 ft. high in the clear."

Out of the 1,616 apartments which were visited, 1,459 rooms were found which contained less than 70 square feet of floor area, the legal minimum prescribed in the ordinance. Some of these rooms were shockingly below the requirement. One man slept in a room with an area of 18 square feet, another in a room which had an area of 24 square feet and which was so low that it contained only 94 cubic feet; still another occupied a room containing only 28 square feet; in another case four people slept in a room containing only 37 square feet and 333 cubic feet; and in another room, containing 59 square feet and 472 cubic feet, five people slept. Five entire apartments were found containing less than 120 square feet, the minimum size prescribed for at least one room in every apartment, and four of these contained less than 100 square feet. A large number of rooms were found to be inadequate in light as well as in area. The ordinance prescribes for rooms in new tenement houses a minimum height of eight and a half feet, but 935 rooms²⁴ were found which failed to conform to this requirement.

Quite as important as the size of the rooms is the question of what provision is made for light and ventilation. In statements concerning light and air it is, of course, important to avoid the influence of the personal equation. A room which one person calls light, another may call gloomy, and what is bad ventilation to some seems adequate to others. One definite test, however, is whether the rooms have windows and whether the windows can be opened to the outer air, that is, whether it is possible to let in light and air if the occupants can be convinced of their importance. A further test is found in the provision of the code which provides, as a means of securing adequate light and ventilation, that in every new tenement house "every habitable room" must have its window area equal to one-tenth of its floor area and that all windows shall open

²⁴ This includes rooms in both old and "new" houses, as well as janitor rooms which are excepted from the requirement. The preceding note quotes this section of the ordinance in full.

directly to the outer air.²⁵ Although this provision like so many others applies only to "new-law" houses, it seems important to apply this standard, which the community has set, to all the houses which were visited. It was found that 137 rooms were without any windows at all or without any windows opening to the outer air; of these, 123 were sleeping-rooms and 36 were in new-law houses. The number of persons occupying these windowless bedrooms is shown in the following table:

NUMBER OF PERSONS SLEEPING IN BEDROOMS WHICH
CANNOT BE VENTILATED

NUMBER OF PERSONS OCCUPYING	NUMBER OF ROOMS HAVING		TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS
	No Window or Interior Window	Outer Window Useless	
Unoccupied	6	2	..
1 person	34	5	39
2 persons	32	6	76
3 persons	20	2	66
4 persons	9	..	36
5 persons	2	1	15
Total number of persons....	..	..	232
Total number of rooms	103	16	119

²⁵ The ordinance (sec. 413) regulating windows is as follows: "In every new tenement house every habitable room, excepting water-closet compartments and bathrooms, shall have all windows open direct upon a street, alley, yard or court. The total area of the windows opening from any such room (other than water-closet compartments and bathrooms) upon a street, alley, yard, or court, shall be at least one-tenth of the floor area of that room. . . ." The section (418) governing old houses is much more lax in its requirements: "No room in any now existing tenement house shall hereafter be constructed, altered, converted, or occupied for living purposes unless it contains a window having a superficial area not less than one-twelfth of the floor area of the room, which window shall open upon a street or alley or upon a yard or court having a superficial area of not less than 25 square feet; or unless such room adjoins another room in the same apartment, which other room shall have such a window opening upon such a street, alley, yard, or court, and between which two adjoining rooms there shall be a sash window having at least 15 square feet of glazed surface, the upper half of which shall be so made as to open easily." Even when the house is a private dwelling and not a tenement the windowless room is supposed to be controlled. The corresponding section (285) for the private house is as follows: "In buildings of Class III, no room shall be con-

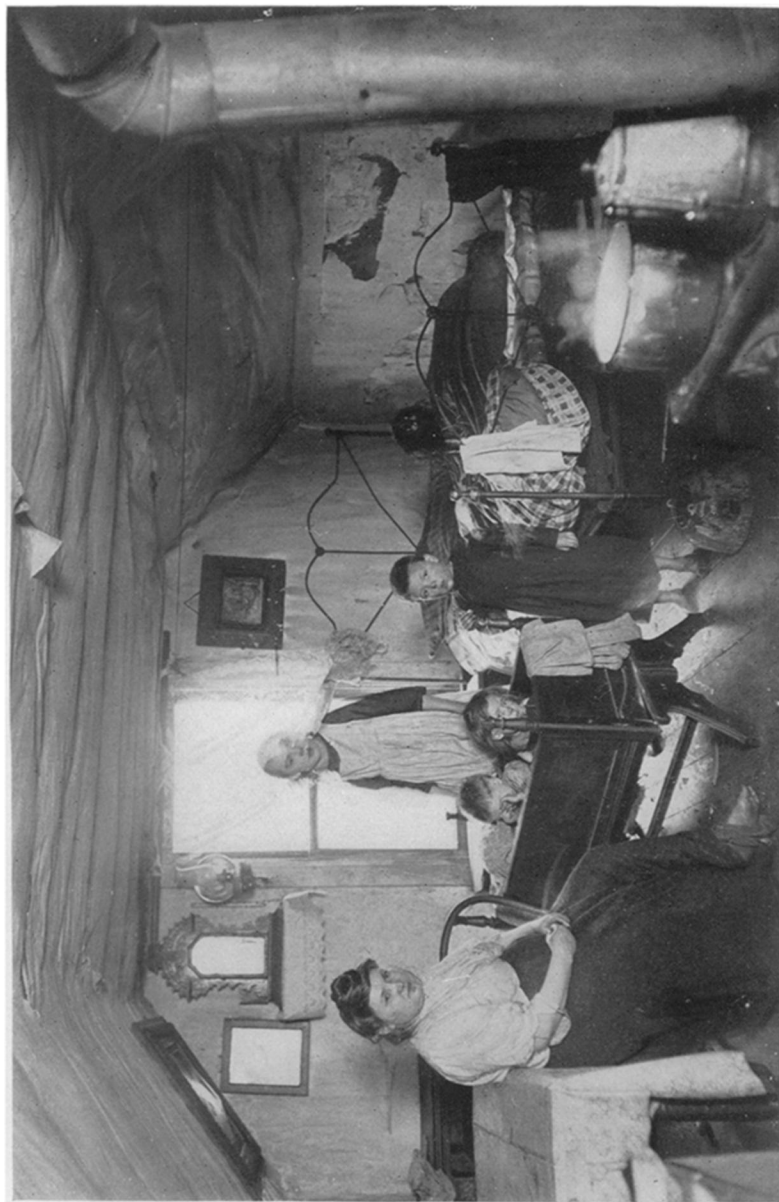
This table shows how very bad a windowless room may at times become. In two cases, five persons were sleeping in a room which had no window except one opening into another room; in nine cases, four persons slept in a similar windowless room; in twenty cases three persons occupied such a room. Altogether 232 persons slept in rooms of this type. Sometimes several of these bedrooms were found in a single apartment and several of these inadequately ventilated apartments in a single building. For example, twenty-three of the 119 bedrooms were in three buildings. In one two-room apartment occupied by three people, both rooms were really without communication with the outer air because the windows were so obstructed; in another department three of the four rooms were for all practical purposes windowless.

In addition to these cases of windowless rooms, 372 others were found in which the window area was less than 10 per cent of the floor area.²⁶ These 509 cases of windowless rooms and rooms in which the window area failed to meet the requirements prescribed in the city code were only a small proportion of the total number of rooms reported to be inadequately lighted. Two hundred and six rooms were found which were called "dark" and 1,410 which were called "gloomy" by the students who visited them. A "dark" room was, in general, a room in which you could read only when you were standing by the window, and a "gloomy" room was one in which you could read only a few feet away from the window. A careful study of the conditions in these 1,616 dark and gloomy rooms makes it clear that the area of the window is much less

sidered habitable or used as a habitation unless it has at least one window of an area equal to one-tenth of the superficial area of such room opening into the external air."

²⁶ The relation between window area and floor area appears in the following table, which shows the number of rooms in which the window area was less than 10 per cent of the floor area:

NUMBER OF ROOMS IN WHICH WINDOW AREA WAS:	
Less than 6 per cent of floor area.....	40
6 per cent and less than 7 per cent.....	14
7 per cent and less than 8 per cent.....	29
8 per cent and less than 9 per cent.....	34
9 per cent and less than 10 per cent.....	45
Total number under 10 per cent.....	162



Photograph by R. R. Earle

A ONE-ROOM APARTMENT

Occupied by the owner and his family in a house containing four other apartments

important than the way it opens; that is, the determining factor is whether or not the window opens upon a narrow passage, air shaft, a covered porch, or a small court with another building so erected as to shut out all light and air. The following table, therefore, is extremely interesting in explaining the inadequately lighted rooms:

NUMBER OF DARK AND GLOOMY ROOMS WITH WINDOWS
OPENING UPON:

Another room or hall	81
Air shaft or wall	20
Porch or court	136
Passage	1,211
Alley, yard, or street	3
<hr/>	
Total	1,584
No report given	32
<hr/>	
Total dark and gloomy rooms	1,616

The most significant fact perhaps in this table is that 1,211 of the 1,584 gloomy rooms are deprived of light because the building on the next lot is so close that only a narrow passageway or a narrow space hardly wide enough to be called a passage is left between the two houses. The typical city lot in Chicago is long and narrow, usually 25 feet wide and 125 feet long, and this has led to the practice of building houses close to the lot line on both sides. To leave adequate space on either side means the building of an inconveniently narrow house and the attempt to avoid this has resulted in a large number of dark rooms. A study of these dark rooms makes clear the fact that adequate light and ventilation cannot be secured by regulating the window area; the controlling factor is the size of the yard or court upon which the window opens. Thus, although only a small proportion of the dark rooms could be explained by lack of window area, 75 per cent were clearly due to the fact that the windows opened on a court which was only a narrow passage between two houses, both of which were built close to the lot line.

A neighborhood problem of great importance in connection

with housing and especially with overcrowding is the custom of taking lodgers who are usually unmarried men or women employed in the Stockyards. This custom is a common one in most of the immigrant districts of our large cities, and the Stockyards district, in so far as it suffers from this evil, is a typical and not an exceptional neighborhood.²⁷ The large number of immigrants, both men and women, who find it easy to get employment in the yards wish, when they first come to this country, to live near their work, and among people of the same nationality. The families who live in the neighborhood are therefore constantly tempted to add to their income by taking in one more lodger. Only 768 out of the 1,616 families visited said that they had no lodgers. That is, more than one-half of the families added to their income by filling up their rooms to the utmost capacity with the men and women who were too new to this country to realize that they could demand anything more than a place to sleep.²⁸ They sleep on the floor both with and without mattresses and sleep in beds with people who are total strangers. The importance of "the lodger evil" can best be understood by studying the following table which shows the total number of lodgers in relation to the total number of people in each block:

²⁷ See the comment in Veiller, *The Housing Problem* (p. 33): "Room overcrowding is bound up with another social problem, namely, the lodger evil. This prevails chiefly among the foreign elements of the population, more especially among the Italians and the Poles, and in some cities, the Hungarians and other Slavic races. It also prevails among the Jews in the larger cities. It is fraught with great danger to the social fabric of the country. It means the undermining of family life; often the breaking down of domestic standards. It frequently leads to the breaking up of homes and families, to the downfall and subsequent degraded career of young women, to grave immoralities—in a word, to the profanation of the home."

²⁸ All statements regarding the extent to which people in this neighborhood take lodgers are believed to be underestimated. When the investigators had been in the district only a few days they found that a rumor had spread to the effect that they were to make reports as to the number of lodgers and then have them all put out. The people therefore made every effort to conceal the fact that they took lodgers, or gave a much smaller number than the correct one. In some cases people said they did not take lodgers but their neighbors did, and when the neighbors were visited they made the same remark.

TABLE SHOWING COMPOSITION OF BLOCK POPULATION

	ADULTS		CHILDREN UNDER 12	TOTAL FAMILY POPULA- TION	LODGERS		TOTAL LODGERS	TOTAL BLOCK POPULA- TION
	Men	Women			Men	Women		
Block 1.....	114	108	132	354	91	14	105	459
Block 2.....	159	171	224	554	256	38	294	848
Block 3.....	211	215	270	696	358	56	414	1,110
Block 4.....	108	96	109	313	48	11	59	372
Block 5.....	119	128	128	375	128	12	140	515
Block 6.....	155	151	173	479	188	28	216	695
Block 7.....	191	160	191	542	70	4	74	616
Block 8.....	192	184	275	651	92	9	101	752
Block 9.....	213	214	299	726	126	12	138	864
Block 10.....	174	177	216	567	69	5	74	641
Whiskey Row								
West.....	264	248	346	858	474	100	574	1,432
East.....	76	71	86	233	161	33	194	427
Totals.....	1,976	1,923	2,449	6,348	2,061	322	2,383	8,731

This table shows that 2,061 men and 332 women out of the 8,731 people in the blocks which were investigated were lodgers; that is, the lodgers constitute one-third of the neighborhood population. In connection with these figures it should be recalled that these 3,383 lodgers lived with 794 families,²⁹ an average of three lodgers to each family. As was expected, more lodgers were found in Whiskey Row in proportion to the number of families than in the other districts. Instead of finding two or more families living above the saloon, the second floor was frequently provided with accommodations for lodgers, and in a few cases the apartments had been subdivided into small rooms.

The fact that there are several lodgers in a family means serious overcrowding in these small apartments in which the rooms are often under the legal area and under the legal height, as well as frequently dark and inadequately ventilated; it means a great deal of additional work for the overburdened wife and mother who has a constant excuse for not maintaining a satisfactory standard of cleanliness. It also means a sac-

²⁹ The following data are of interest:

Total number of lodgers.....	2,383
Total number of families keeping lodgers.....	794
Total number of families not keeping lodgers..	768
Total number of families or households.....	1,562
Total number of persons in families.....	6,348
Total population.....	8,731

rifice of privacy; for in many cases the lodgers sleep in the same room with some member of the family; in 181 cases there was one member of the family sleeping in the lodger's room and sometimes in the same bed; in 60 cases two members of the family slept in the room; in 23 cases there were three members of the family, in 9 cases four, and in three cases five, sleeping in the same room and in one case the lodger slept in the same room with a family of seven.³⁰ Sometimes men and women lodgers slept in the same room; in other cases the men slept in a room which could only be reached by passing through a room in which the women slept. In other cases men lodgers slept in the same rooms with the young daughters of the household, and no one seemed aware of dangers or improprieties. Perhaps the worst feature of the mixed lodging arrangement, however, is the common toilet-room. When it is in the apartment the entrance is almost invariably from the kitchen which often serves at night as a bedroom.

The practice of taking lodgers is, of course, to be explained by the fact that the families are large, the earnings small, and the rents high. The lodger, however, is as much the cause as the effect of high rents; the landlord finds it easy to excuse a high rental by pointing out that the families will surely take lodgers and earn enough to pay it.³¹ It is difficult to discuss the sub-

³⁰ Number of cases of lodgers sleeping in room with 1 member of family.... 181
 Number of cases of lodgers sleeping in room with 2 members of family.... 60
 Number of cases of lodgers sleeping in room with 3 members of family.... 23
 Number of cases of lodgers sleeping in room with 4 members of family.... 9
 Number of cases of lodgers sleeping in room with 5 members of family.... 3
 Number of cases of lodgers sleeping in room with 7 members of family.... 1

³¹ See Mr. Veiller's very interesting comment in *Housing Reform* (p. 33): "Its economic consequences are also serious. To it may be charged, in large degree, the high rentals which prevail in many cities. Probably no more curious instance occurs of the peculiar intertwining of cause and effect. Often, the inadequate earnings of the poor immigrant make it necessary to supplement the family income by taking in boarders or lodgers. In many cases, such necessity does not exist, but the parsimonious habits of the people lead them to adopt this way of adding dollar to dollar. It is hard to tell to what extent the practice is due to necessity and to what extent avarice. The result is the same in both cases. The effect soon is to raise rents. Landlords are quick to realize that their tenants have augmented the family earnings by subletting a portion of their



Photograph by R. R. Earle

ONE OF THE CITY DUMPS

ject of rent intelligently without knowing the standard of family earnings in the neighborhood and without knowing the cost of similar accommodations in other neighborhoods. The table which follows, however, shows the rents most frequently paid in the blocks investigated:

TABLE SHOWING MONTHLY RENT PAID BY 1,154 FAMILIES

Number paying less than \$5.....	34
Number paying \$5 and less than \$6.....	92
Number paying \$6 and less than \$7.....	162
Number paying \$7 and less than \$8.....	203
Number paying \$8 and less than \$9.....	221
Number paying \$9 and less than \$10.....	135
Number paying \$10 and less than \$11.....	183
Number paying \$11 and less than \$12.....	57
Number paying \$12 or more.....	61
Number vacant	158

Total number rented.....1,312

This table shows that one-fourth of the families pay less than \$7 and more than half of them pay less than \$9. Much more interesting, however, than the amount paid is the question of the kind of accommodations secured. Two tables therefore are given which show in some detail the relation of the rent paid to the number of rooms and to the floor area of the apartment.

This table of rents is given in some detail, because it shows not only the number of rooms obtained for a given rental, but it also brings out the tendency to make the unit in even dollars. That is, the rents are usually \$5, \$6, \$7 instead of \$5.25, \$5.75 and so on. It is interesting that the rent paid bears very little relation to the number of rooms obtained. The rent of a one-room apartment may be \$7, \$4, \$3, or even less. Two-room apartments bring almost any rental between \$3 and \$7. Six-

rooms. The rooms at once become more valuable because a larger revenue can thus be secured and rents are promptly raised. Thus, in a short time, the tenant is no better off than before; in fact, worse, because the practice has spread and standards of living have been readjusted. The total family income, though now greater, is still relatively where it was before, because of the increased cost of living."

teen different rentals ranging from \$4 to \$13 are paid for four-room apartments.

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF APARTMENTS FOR WHICH SPECIFIED MONTHLY RENTALS ARE PAID, TOGETHER WITH NUMBER OF ROOMS

Rent per Month	One Room	Two Rooms	Three Rooms	Four Rooms	Five Rooms	Six Rooms	Seven or More Rooms	Total
Less than \$3.00.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
\$3 and less than \$3.50...	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3
\$3.50 and less than \$4...	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
\$4 and less than \$4.50...	1	13	4	2	..	..	..	20
\$4.50 and less than \$5...	..	6	1	..	..	..	..	7
\$5 and less than \$5.50...	..	35	16	24	..	..	..	75
\$5.50 and less than \$6...	..	7	6	4	..	..	..	17
\$6 and less than \$6.50...	..	27	56	47	2	..	..	132
\$6.50 and less than \$7...	..	7	10	12	1	..	..	30
\$7 and less than \$7.50...	1	2	28	126	9	1	..	167
\$7.50 and less than \$8...	..	..	1	31	3	1	..	36
\$8 and less than \$8.50...	..	..	9	174	18	3	..	204
\$8.50 and less than \$9...	..	..	1	13	2	1	..	17
\$9 and less than \$9.50...	..	..	2	111	13	3	..	129
\$9.50 and less than \$10...	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	6
\$10 and less than \$10.50...	..	..	5	126	35	12	1	179
\$10.50 and less than \$11...	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	4
\$11 and less than \$11.50...	..	..	..	32	19	4	2	57
\$12 and less than \$12.50...	..	..	..	6	18	3	1	28
\$12.50 and less than \$13...	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
\$13 and less than \$13.50...	..	..	..	2	7	4	..	13
\$13.50 and less than \$14...	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
\$14 and less than \$14.50...	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	4
\$14.50 and less than \$15...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
\$15 and less than \$15.50...	..	..	..	..	8	5	1	14
More than \$15.....	..	..	..	..	2	1	3	6
Vacant and rent not reported.....	8	11	23	58	27	9	22	158
Total number of apartments rented.....	13	112	162	777	166	50	32	1,312

The size of the apartment in relation to the rent is quite as important as the number of rooms. The following table shows, however, that the size is not a factor any more than the number of rooms in determining the rent paid.

According to this table the rents paid for apartments of the same area vary greatly. For example, 63 apartments, having an area of between 600 and 650 square feet, pay rents ranging from \$5 to \$15. This difference in rates is not easy to explain, for it has not yet been possible for us to ascertain all of the deter-

mining factors. The location, that is front, or rear, first, second, or third floor; toilet accommodations, and character of the immediate neighbors would have weight. We believe, however, that in many cases the bargaining skill of the tenant is an important factor. It was found that the most recent immigrants almost invariably paid higher relative rents than those among

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF APARTMENTS AT SPECIFIED MONTHLY RENTALS TOGETHER WITH FLOOR AREA

RENT PER MONTH	NUMBER OF APARTMENTS HAVING AREA OF														Total
	Less than 100 sq. ft. 100 and less than 150	150 to 200	200 to 250	250 to 300	300 to 350	350 to 400	400 to 450	450 to 500	500 to 550	550 to 600	600 to 650	650 to 700	700 to 750	750 or more	
Less than \$3.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
\$3 and less than \$4.....	2	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
\$4 and less than \$5.....	..	1	5	7	2	1	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	27
\$5 and less than \$6.....	1	16	27	12	11	13	7	3	1	1	..	..	92
\$6 and less than \$7.....	..	1	..	13	22	29	45	27	13	8	2	2	..	..	162
\$7 and less than \$8.....	1	4	14	28	73	61	13	8	..	1	..	203
\$8 and less than \$9.....	2	12	43	98	40	18	2	3	2	220
\$9 and less than \$10.....	1	8	18	54	37	11	4	..	1	135
\$10 and less than \$11.....	11	48	62	23	23	9	5	183
\$11 and less than \$12.....	3	9	22	8	9	2	2	57
\$12 and less than \$13.....	1	5	6	7	7	..	29
\$13 and less than \$14.....	2	1	3	1	3	4	14
\$14 and less than \$15.....	1	1	..	2	4
\$15 or more.....	4	4	4	8	20
Rent not reported and vacant.....	4	1	..	8	5	10	4	22	20	21	14	7	9	30	158
Total.....	4	3	8	47	67	71	109	211	313	214	92	63	37	20	1,312

their neighbors who were more Americanized, and who had a more correct idea of the market value of the accommodations.

In this as in most immigrant neighborhoods, a large number of families either own or are buying the house in which they live. It was found that 298 out of 613 premises were owned by people living on them. This 48 per cent of ownership is, however, likely to give a false impression of prosperity, for many of these places which the people claim to own are heavily encumbered and in many instances after a long struggle the house and all that has been paid slips away. The old idea of the prosperous workman owning a house of his own—usually a small cottage with a cheerful garden—fails of illustration in the immigrant tenement

neighborhoods found in all large cities. The owners here are only tenement landlords who live on the premises. Instead of small cottages they buy tenements containing several apartments³² which can be rented for enough to pay the interest on the mortgage and some small part toward its redemption. In these cases ownership is far from being a sign of prosperity which indicates comfort. The owner of the tenement frequently lives in the smallest and poorest apartment. If there is an attic or a cellar in the houses that can be rented only with difficulty the owner and his family occupy it, in order that the more desirable apartments may be used to make the house bring in the largest possible return.

It should be pointed out that although one-half of the premises may be owned by people living on them there are a large number of other families on these same premises who are "renters." To compare, therefore, the number of premises owned with the total number of premises gives a disproportionate idea of the ownership factor. A more correct idea can be had by comparing the number of families who live in an apartment in a house which they own with the total number of families. Out of a total of 1,616 families, only 298 were not paying rent, so that it is less misleading to say that one-fifth of the people live in houses which they own than to say that one-half of the premises are owned by people who live on them.

These resident landlords make the reform of housing conditions very difficult. Many of them, as the following table shows, have purchased the property very recently.

In these cases of recent purchase not only are the landlords very poor, but their entire margin of saving for years is mortgaged to pay for the house. There is not only no hope of their making improvements, but they will not even make needed repairs until they are compelled to do so.

It has already been said that they usually live in the meanest

³²In only 50 per cent out of 296 cases in which the owner lived on the premises did he occupy the house alone with his family.

In 67 cases the house contained 2 apartments

In 64 cases the house contained 3 apartments

In 63 cases the house contained 4 apartments

In 52 cases the house contained 5 or more apartments

apartment in the house. Often they do not even occupy an apartment but huddle the entire family into one room in order that the house may be made to earn more of what is due on the mortgage. One house on Paulina Street containing four apartments and an attic room was owned by a Lithuanian Stockyards laborer with five children. The four apartments were all rented, however, and the family were living in the attic which is shown in the photograph.

Number of owners who have lived on the premises less than one year....	30
more than one and less than two.....	21
more than two and less than three.....	22
more than three and less than four.....	22
more than four and less than five.....	27
more than five and less than six.....	20
more than six and less than eight.....	26
more than eight and less than ten.....	19
more than ten and less than fifteen.....	23
more than fifteen and less than twenty.....	44
more than twenty and less than twenty-five.....	27
more than twenty-five and less than thirty-three.....	12
No report	5
<hr/>	
Total	298

In many cases where there is a store in the building, the storekeeper is the owner and the resident landlord. He may be more prosperous than the men who work in the yards but, as in most other cases of ownership, the prosperity may mean a continual sacrifice of comfort in the home. The family usually live in the rather gloomy and crowded rear rooms behind the store, in order that all of the apartments above may be rented. To save the expense of a clerk, the wife and mother usually "helps" in the store, and the result is that the house is often dirty and ill-kept.

There are stores everywhere, sometimes more than one in a building; but the corner lot is usually occupied by a saloon. Sometimes both are found on the same premises. One corner building contained a saloon, a butcher shop, a milk depot, a bakery, a stable at the rear, and apartments for nine families. The saloons are usually the property, not of the saloonkeeper, but

of the brewery which often owns other property near by. The saloonkeeper is nevertheless a person of influence, and the hall in the rear of the saloon is a social center in which weddings and other festivities occur. In the ten blocks visited there were thirty saloons, while in Whiskey Row there were forty-six.

The following table shows the number of saloons in each block and the percentage of buildings which are used for dwellings only:

	BLOCKS										WHISKEY ROW	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	West Side	East Side
Number of saloons	3	6	7	2	0	4	1	3	3	1	17	29
Percent. of buildings used as dwellings only...	26	69	21	36	95	57	92	82	78	82	57	9

There is, however, another feature of this neighborhood which is more offensive than the Stockyards and the saloons. Reference has already been made to the fact that conditions in the yards must be a demoralizing influence on the people who live near; but along with the influence of the Stockyards should be reckoned that of the great city "dump." A brief statement concerning the exact location and the extent of the "dump" as well as the way in which it is used by the city as a place of deposit for waste matter from distant wards will perhaps throw some further light upon conditions in this section of the city. In an open tract lying between Forty-seventh and Forty-second streets and near the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago, & St. Louis Railroad are four places of deposit which are indicated on the accompanying map: the first, which is just north of Forty-seventh Street and west of the railroad, contains about seven acres; the second, north of Forty-seventh Street and east of the railroad, contains five acres; the third and fourth which are also east of the tracks contain respectively ten and six acres. These "dumps" are great holes from which the clay has been dug out for the neighboring brickyards. In the autumn of 1909, when our investigation was made, No. 1 (*see map*) had been filled with deposits of waste matter until it was almost level



Photograph by R. R. Earle

WOMEN LEAVING THE DUMPS

with the street; No. 2 had been nearly filled, but clay was still being removed so that the space continued to be enlarged; No. 3 which was still filled with water had been as yet only slightly used as a dumping-ground; while No. 4 was abandoned as a clay pit and was about half full of refuse.

The city, as required by the ordinance,³³ collects and disposes of all garbage, ashes, and rubbish except such as is gathered from places in which more than twenty people are fed. The ashes and rubbish are dumped, while the garbage thus collected is supposed to be treated at a reduction plant.³⁴ The waste from the places where more than twenty people are fed is disposed of at the expense of the establishment. The large hotels burn their garbage, but the smaller ones dump theirs mixed with ashes and miscellaneous waste on a public dump approved by the commissioner of public works.³⁵ Dump No. 1 seems to be the place of deposit by the city for solid waste matter from the Fifth, Twelfth, and Thirty-first wards, and such food stuffs as are found there are doubtless due to the neglect of housekeepers to separate the material collected. Dump No. 2, on the other hand, was used prior to October, 1909, not only by the city as a place of deposit of the solid waste from four wards but by private scavengers. In this way it became such a nuisance in the district near Forty-seventh Street and Western Avenue, that the city authorities were induced to transfer this private dumping to dump No. 4, which is used by private scavengers and which is also the place of deposit for the waste from the First, Second, Third, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth wards. Dump No. 3 is used by the Stockyards and, as their waste is largely burned, there is always a smouldering fire here, separated by a pool of water from the inflammable material on the city dump.

Obviously the material deposited in these dumps is of several kinds: ashes and other substances which are suitable for filling-in purposes and which can probably be put to no other use; cans,

³³ Tolman's *Municipal Code*, sec. 1099.

³⁴ This plant is located at Thirty-ninth and Iron streets.

³⁵ *Municipal Code*, sec. 1097.

bottles, old junk, wooden boxes, and other articles which have served their original purpose, which are not suitable for filling-in purposes, but which may properly be used again; old mattresses, worn garments, and articles of personal use which come from all sorts of homes in all sorts of places, which may easily convey infection, and which in the interests of public health should be destroyed; and finally waste food, which comes both from the establishments of which mention has been made and from food dealers like those on South Water Street. It should be added that articles of real value are not infrequently mixed in with the refuse by mistake.

These various kinds of waste tempt different kinds of persons to explore the dumps. On dumps Nos. 2 and 4 there are the professionals, who pay a regular stipend for the privilege of "picking"³⁶ and who dispose of the articles collected in the regular course of trade.³⁷ For the picking on dump No. 4, a payment of \$15 a week is made by a man who employs five helpers. After these commercial pickers have taken their goods, the women and children, who have been watching the wagon unload and the picking take place, are allowed to hunt for the wood they want for kindling, the old mattresses which may serve on the bed at home, and the fragments of food. Of course the prospective find is most uncertain, but for both the women and children there is the excitement of exploration and the hope of a bit of silver or some other article of value, such as a lucky neighbor was rumored to have found. It is hardly necessary to say that the filthy condition of some of the household articles and the presence of decaying organic matter, make this an obviously unfit place for children.³⁸

³⁶ An ex-alderman in the ward is said to farm out for an annual payment the right to pick on dump No. 2 to a colored man who employs these helpers.

³⁷ The bones go to Darling & Co.; the metals of various kinds to a junk dealer on Maxwell Street, near Canal; bottles other than those belonging to Borden and Bowman to another junk dealer. Those concerns buy back their own bottles.

³⁸ While this study was being prepared a policeman was placed on dump No. 2 who prevented women and children from going on that dump. From ten to twenty women and from forty to sixty children seemed a fair estimate of the number commonly found there.



Photograph by R. R. Earle

THE CITY DUMPS
A Lithuanian woman going home

No attempt is made to discuss the desirability or possible economy of other methods of waste disposal. This reference to the city dumps has been made because in presenting an account of housing conditions in this neighborhood it seemed important to call attention to this great stretch of territory, once like "the yards," a remote rural tract, now surrounded by dwellings, and yet devoted in part to the disposal of decaying organic matter. In spite of foul odor, heavy clouds of dust, and dreary ugliness, women who hope to add to their meager supply of furniture and fuel, are tempted to search here, and children who grow accustomed to these conditions find here their adventure and their play.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that the purpose of this study is to set out conditions as they exist in the Stockyards district in selected groups of typical blocks. This is, however, only one section of a large inquiry and the significance of the facts presented will be discussed later in comparison with those collected for other portions of the city. No attempt has been made here to discuss theories of sanitation, new standards of city housing, model dwellings, or any one of a large number of interesting aspects of the housing problem. The aim has been to set forth a collection of facts regarding housing conditions in this one neighborhood. It has been found that in many instances people are living and sleeping in shockingly overcrowded rooms, that in many cases the rooms are dark and ill-ventilated, that there is a demoralizing lack of privacy, and that toilet accommodations are often disgracefully inadequate. Many of the conditions found are such as have been already condemned by the community and supposedly abolished. In 1901, the *Report of the City Homes Association* set forth so forcibly the need of housing reform that a new tenement ordinance was passed which it was hoped would correct many of the evils then shown to exist. Such a result could be accomplished, however, only by the provision of a large and expensive staff of intelligent inspectors, and no adequate appropriation has ever been given to the department entrusted with the enforcement of the law. It is, therefore, not an indictment of the Health Department but

of our niggardly public policy in failing to make the appropriations for adequate enforcement, that so many violations of the law are possible; that 1,459 rooms were found under 70 square feet in area, the minimum size now prescribed; that 935 rooms were found under $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, the minimum height now prescribed; that in 372 rooms the window area was less than 10 per cent of the floor area, the standard set for new houses; that 36 windowless rooms were found, and that 81 other rooms were practically windowless, since the windows instead of communicating with the outer air merely opened into another room; that 1,616 dark and gloomy rooms were found; that in 1,119 out of 1,616 apartments, the families had no private toilet facilities; that 1,981 sleeping-rooms were crowded beyond the legal maximum which prescribes 400 cubic feet of air for every adult and 200 cubic feet for every child under twelve.

When the New York Tenement House Commission completed its work and made its report, the result was the creation of a tenement-house department, with a large staff of inspectors whose entire time is given to tenement-house work. In the year 1909, the city of New York spent \$800,000 and employed 350 inspectors for the proper enforcement of its tenement-house law. In Chicago there is no separate department, and during the year 1909-10, the chief sanitary inspector had 78 inspectors and \$110,000 for all inspectional purposes. The creation of a new department in Chicago may not be thought advisable, but there can be no sound reason for failing to provide our present sanitary department with a very greatly increased staff. A well-known expert has said recently that housing laws are not self-operative. "Housing evils will not vanish of their own accord. The causes which have led to them are too deep-seated to permit anything so simple." When the community conscience has been sufficiently aroused to demand changes in the content of the law, it seems little short of dishonest not to make possible its enforcement. To substitute the shadow for the substance in dealing with the problem of city housing leads quickly to criminal neglect.